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593 direction until his father dies or makes over the farm to
883 him at his marriage.

593 If economic apprenticeship is also a process of condition-
ing within the family, so likewise the direction of economic
enterprise coincides with the dominant and controlling role
of the parent within the family. The son is subordinated in
both spheres to his parents, particularly the father. Rather,
the spheres are one.

593 For the child grows up within the full complex of life
867 within the family. The petty errands which constitute his
first steps in farm work are a mere incident in the condi-
tioning he receives and the relationships he builds up with
his fellows. He develops the sentiments of affection and
dependence upon his mother and the other family members
in those years in the care and attention he receives at their
hands. He learns the code of conduct which constitutes the
folkways of his group and the reciprocal relations within
his family in a gradual process of training over years. This
conduct ranges from the errands he runs for family members
[864 superordinate to him, to the learning of his prayers and the
684 development of the sentiments which make of sexual be-
havior of any kind an offense and of that within the family,
incest.

593 Thus the same landmark in his life which marks his be-
857 ginning to do the minor chores of farm work after six or
● 513 seven marks a change of his life within the household, for
thereafter he sleeps with his brothers and the separation
which begins to take him from his sisters in work and play
now separates them within the household.

593 Later his sharing of chores with his brothers in farm
561 work is again merely incidental to his long years of life
with them. By the same token the commanding position
which the father (and the mother) exercise over him in farm
work is but one aspect of their control. We shall have occa-
sion to see in a later section how this dominance expresses

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591 with this china only under dire necessity. In many districts
352 the year's supply of home-cured bacon still hangs from the
353 rafters.

343 From the kitchen to the haggard, the farmyards, and cow
sheds is but a step through one of the half-doors. There
are found the sheds and outhouses where all the livestock,
agricultural implements, carts, are kept and the fuel supply
and the hayrick stand.

● 513 Sleeping arrangements reflect the age grading and the
sexual arrangements within the family. Children generally
561 occupy the "loft," a boarded attic covering from a quarter
562 to a half of the space under the peak of the roof. If space
is restricted, they may also occupy the "settlebed" in the
kitchen, or they may be divided up between the two on
the basis of sex. Older children and the married couple will
occupy the bedrooms.

353 The room, however, which we described as occupying
512 the part of the rectangle behind the hearth in the kitchen is
of especial interest. It may or may not be used as a bedroom.
It is generally so used only when space is limited. But in
this room all the objects of sentimental value (except the
shrine and the dresser in the kitchen) are always kept: the re-
ligious pictures, the ceremonial objects brought in by the
bride at marriage, and the bric-a-brac associated with the
past members of the household. Where there is only one
couple in the house, this room is reserved as a sort of parlor
into which none but distinguished visitors are admitted.

[523] The family heirlooms are there, and, lining the walls along
with religious pictures, there appear the photographs of the
members of the family, especially the familiar daguerreo-
types of the last century. Whatever "fine" pieces of furniture
[352] there may be, such as highboys, cabinets, brass candlesticks,
are kept there, as are all the religious objects used when mass
is celebrated in the house. All these objects are inalienable

[425] in the sense that the family parts with them only when it
[428] must. They descend from father to son with the house and
the farm on which it stands.

house, pigsty, calf-pen and sheepfold, and there are several other references in the ancient law tracts to cow-houses and pigstyes.

But, notwithstanding this old and varied farmyard tradition, it is also quite clear that there was, up to the beginning of the present century, a widespread custom of keeping the livestock, or part of it, in the dwelling house. There are very many references to this in descriptions of life and conditions in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Few, however, give any description of the internal arrangement of the houses, or the reason for the custom, and usually the accounts refer to small houses and a few poor animals. Some observers have mentioned the fear of wild beasts or robbers. "They are brought in by night for fear of thieves, the Irish using almost no other kind of theft, or else for fear of wolves."¹ Here the writer refers to the bawns attached

to the castles, but of course the same risk existed for the small farmer also. Another traveller writes of a night spent in a house in west Co. Galway: "I had just compos'd myself to sleepe when I was strangely surprised to heare the cows and sheep all coming into my bed chamber. I enquired the meaneing and was told it was to preserve them from the wolfe which everie night was rambling about for prey."² Another and much later writer describes a night spent in a small house in the Kerry mountains, near Kenmare: "In the house where I slept—as indeed in every house of the same character in the county—the whole stock of the family, consisting chiefly of cows and sheep, were locked in at night. Such was the extreme poverty of the people that they would not otherwise be safe. ... There was a slight partition between the room where my bed was and the kitchen where there were three cows, a man, his wife and four children."³

In many dwelling houses fowl, especially hatching hens, were kept in special coops or boxes, and it was quite usual to have weak or sickly young animals, or calves or lambs which for some reason were separated from their dams, in the kitchen where they had warmth and attention until strong enough to be put with the other animals. In many parts of Ireland the poorest people—

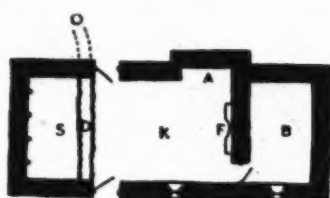


Fig. 10. House at Doolough, Co. Mayo. A, bed alcove; B, bedroom; D, drain; O, drain outlet; K, kitchen; F, fireplace; S, byre.

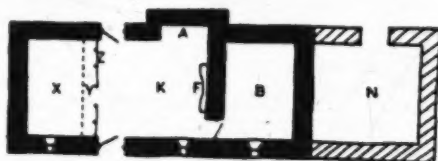


Fig. 11. House at Srahataggle, Co. Mayo. A, bed alcove; B, bedroom; K, kitchen; F, fireplace; X, former byre; Y, filled-in drain; Z, screen of canvas on wooden frame; N, present byre.

¹ Fynes Moryson: Itinerary, 1617.

² Dunton, John: Letter no. 3 (1690), in MacLachlan, E.: Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century, 1939, 339.

³ Downey, M.: The Felon's Track.

241 A cruel custom is said to have been common in the district at one
231 time, which was still in use in 1835, of harrowing with the harrow
fastened to the horses tail.

513 The females of a family sleep in the "room," the men in the bed
in the kitchen; if the family be large, the beds will be very full, the
occupants lying "heads and points," as several of my informants
phrased it, that is, some with their heads in the ordinary place, others
with theirs to the foot of the bed. No night-clothing is worn by
either sex among the poorer people.

A method of sleeping when the house was much crowded was
formerly practised in this district, which is fully described by a writer¹
who has been frequently quoted in this Report:—"This is what is
called sleeping in *stradogs*, and is regulated as follows:—The floor is
thickly strewed with fresh rushes, and stripping themselves entirely,
the whole family lie down at once and together, covering themselves
with blankets if they have them, if not, with their day-clothing, but
they lie down *decently*, and in order; the eldest daughter next the
wall farthest from the door, then all the sisters according to their
ages; next the mother, father, and sons in succession, and then the
[834] strangers, whether the travelling pedlar, or tailor, or beggar; thus
the strangers are kept aloof from the female part of the family, and if
there be apparent community, there is great propriety of conduct."

262 3. *Food*.—The dietary varies somewhat with the locality, but
fish seems to form a considerable part of it in all but the mountainous
portions of the district. Flesh or fowl are rarely tasted, except at
Christmas time, or at Michaelmas, or some other great occasion.
The islanders are said to make some use of sea birds, but use fish as
the staple animal food. This is eaten fresh in summer, and coarsely
salted for winter use.

The main articles of diet are stirabout, soda-bread, and boxty
(a form of damper made of grated raw potatoes, and cooked on a
griddle. This extremely indigestible form of bread is much used in
the mountainous parts), potatoes, and tea, which is becoming more
[272] extensively used than formerly, and is now taken at nearly every meal.
Whatever the other meals may be composed of, fish forms part of supper.

An average day's dietary in the Mullet would be somewhat as
follows:—

262 *Breakfast*.—Potatoes and fish, or Indian meal (sometimes oatmeal)
264 stirabout, buttermilk.

¹ C. O., "Sketches in Erris and Tyrrawley," p. 34.

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canopy, sometimes on both, resting on the brace-tree is a wattled shelf or loft which goes under various names such as, in Ulster, skeagh, hurdle or flake. The double loft in the fireside from Co. Cavan illustrated in Fig. 21 is slatted and floored with reed matting, the reeds being bound together with split briar after the manner of a bee-skep. As the term hurdle would imply, these lofts are frequently made of wattle. The heat could rise through them and keep everything above bone-dry, and this was the allocated place for storing various treasured possessions as well as a great deal of 'trumpery'. Here the rushes were dried in the preparation of rush lights, and here the horse-collar was stored when not in use, a reminder that it was made partly or wholly of straw and must be kept dry. [373] [492]

If we are right in supposing that the wattled chimney canopy is a relatively late feature it follows that we cannot regard the chimney loft as an old element in the Irish house. Yet the loft is a traditional fitting for which there seems to be some evidence in early literature, and the need for storage-space must have led to the utilization of part of the roof space. It seems that the loft over the kitchen which nowadays has often become a bedroom in the roof—lit by a small gable window and entered by a steep stairway or even a ladder—began as a half-loft over the bottom end. This survived in Clare Island into the present century and was used to store tools and dried fish. In Fermanagh the half-loft was the hens' roosting-place, serving to protect the cows from droppings and now transferred with them to the byre. By tradition the loft is the sleeping-place of the children, and the man and woman of the house have their bed near the fire, either in the kitchen or in the bedroom behind the chimney flue. [231] [513]●

Nowhere is the relationship between the parental bed and the fire better defined than in the traditional house of the north-west, where a small bed-wing—the outshot or *cailleach*—projects out from one of the side-walls at the chimney-end of the kitchen (Fig. 8; Fig. 12, 3). The distribution of this type of house, north of a line from Cushendun in Co. Antrim to south-western Galway, corresponds with many other north-western cultural distributions, and the area is curiously coincident with that of the oldest rocks in the country, the infertile schists and

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322 often oppressive landlordism were not dissimilar, a strong
 352 tradition of good quality oak furniture was standardized in the
 eighteenth century and has remained a source of inspiration
 and pride ever since. The destruction of the native oak woods
 and the stronger pastoral strain in Ireland were perhaps the
 dominant factors, but once more we note the exceptional position
 of the barony of Bargy and Forth, where Gabriel Beranger
 commented in 1780 on the good-quality, well-kept furniture:
 'I have seen in these cabins bureaus of oak so clean that they
 shone like polished mahogany.'¹

353 Sturdiness rather than elegance was the characteristic feature
 of Irish peasant furniture, and many small household and dairy
 fittings were hand-cut from the solid or lathe-turned. Yet there
 was no lack of care taken in the proper arrangement of the
 furniture in the house. Its disposition was fixed by long custom
 and varied little throughout the country. One is reminded of the
 careful division of the limited floor-space of the nomads' tent
 among the Lapps or Mongols. In fact only by adhering to a
 strict formula could the family and all their belongings be
 fitted into a single room which was traditionally also a byre.
 Invariably the centre of the room, and the whole space in front
 of the fire, was kept open. This was, for the bulk of the peasant
 population down to the eighteenth century, the family sleeping-
 place. According to an account of Mayo in 1799, they slept
 naked with their feet to the fire, lying on rushes, with a covering
 of blankets or day-clothes.² An earlier account of the Rosses
 of Donegal, relating to the middle of the eighteenth century,
 gives us more details: 'All the family lay together in one bed,
 and, if any visitors came in the evening, they too slept with
 them; for they set no bounds to their hospitality . . . heath or
 bent bushes were spread across the floor, to a length sufficient
 for the number present, and in breadth about six feet; over
 this litter, the mistress of the house laid part of a long plaid or
 blanket, on which the others, having stripped off their clothes,
 lay down as fast as they could; men and women together, all
 naked: then the mistress having drawn the rest of the blanket
 over them, lay down herself, naked also. This they call a

¹Lady Wilde, 'Memoir of Gabriel Beranger', *J.R.S.A.I.* (1876), 132.

²In C. Orway, *Sketches in Erris and Tyranny* (1841), 28, 32.

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Thorough-bed.¹ The Poor Law Commissioners reported in 1836 that nearly three-quarters of the 10,000 inhabitants of one parish were sleeping on the floor, though they add that this was because the bedsteads had been burnt to boil potatoes. Even after 1850 the custom of sleeping 'in stradogue' as it was called, was not unknown in the west.² In Ulster, too, though the master and mistress of the house would have slept in their wall-bed, the young children, where there was only one room, must have slept on the floor. Long custom as well as wretched poverty explains the statement made by Patrick McKye of a Donegal parish in 1837: 'Nor can many of them afford a second bed, but whole families of sons and daughters of mature age indiscriminately lie together . . . and all in the bare buff.'³ The wall-bed was a wooden frame built into the outshot which has been described earlier. It had its own wooden covering or tester to give protection from roof drips, and originally, to judge by the Hebridean black-houses, the covering was of sods. In Donegal, bog timber supplied the bed frame, and the mattress was made of wattles or of ropes twisted from the root fibres of bog-fir. That fir-rope mattresses were once standard fittings is shown by the specification for the beds to be supplied to the Belfast Charitable Association in 1774.⁴ But some of the wall-beds in parts of Connacht were until recently mere stone benches covered with dried bracken. Half-ruined examples may be seen in the deserted houses of Slievemore on Achill Island.

In the house with fireside partition the kitchen bed often takes the form of a settle-bed, a seat by day and a bed by night. The front and seat are in one piece, hinged at the bottom so that the whole can be folded down to make a low bed (Fig. 18). In bachelor homes, where the settle-bed has been retained, I have been offered a seat on one which had been closed a moment before by bundling in the mattress and bedclothes. Placed against one of the side walls near the fire, the settle-bed

¹J. C. Walker, *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards*, 2nd ed. (1818), Appendix 1, 196-204.

²*The Saxon in Ireland* (1851), 192.

³Lord George Hill, *Guvedore*, 16.

⁴R. W. M. Strain, *The Ulster Medical Journal*, 22 (1953), 37.

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are worn over dark colored sweaters or blue woolen pullover shirts. Most sweaters are imported, although some of simple design are knitted by women, and shirts are sewn from wool sold in the shops. Under the outer layer of clothing are worn lightweight grey woolen undershirts, known as "grey shirts," and heavier white woolen—"bawneen"—underpants, called "white drawers." The grey shirt is flannel, but the folk use that term to designate homespun wool. Sometimes a bawneen waistcoat is substituted for the vest, and in the heat of the summer may be worn directly over the undershirt. Making up the remainder of the male costume are the ubiquitous Irish visored cap, imported leather or locally manufactured belts and shoes, and stockings. One of the most time consuming chores of women is knitting and darning stockings for their husbands and children.

Just as the vest is the most striking item of male apparel, the red or blue skirt, or "petticoat," is the most striking female one, in particular the red petticoat when viewed from afar against the dull colors of sand and limestone. The skirt, made from imported wool but dyed locally, is gathered and styled with a deep tuck about nine inches from the bottom, and under this in winter is worn an additional bawneen or red skirt. Sometimes a cotton petticoat and knee length "knickers" also are worn, and several layers of cotton "vests" and shirts provide needed warmth beneath the cotton or lightweight woolen handmade blouse during winter. Blouses are styled alike with collars, long sleeves, and buttons down the front, and usually are of subdued plaid material purchased in the shops. However, somewhat unusual designs and colors are admired, as are brooches worn at the neck of the garment. Black knee length woolen stockings and black leather shoes, both procured in the shops, encase the feet. Over the shoulders may be worn a multi-colored or red island crocheted shawl of small size, called a "shawleen." In winter and when attending church, women wear heavy brown woolen paisley or black shawls outdoors which cover the head. The black shawl can be bought on the mainland, but the paisley shawl is no longer available.

Infants of both sexes until toilet trained are clothed in plain bawneen dresses. Then boys don short pants of varying length made from homespun wool, which are worn with white sweaters or blue shirts. Corduroy trousers and jackets are coming into vogue for everyday wear, but on Sunday the white sweater always is worn. Older boys wear long woolen trousers or britches and blue shirts, and children of all ages go barefooted or put on sandals during the summer and add hand knit stockings in winter. Girls past infancy wear frocks sewn by their mothers, bought in the shops, or sent by relatives from abroad. Whether shoes and stockings are worn depends on the weather, and girls don sweaters and coats over their dresses to afford them protection against the cold. Hairbows provide the only decoration.

Underclothing is changed once a week, and women try to wash clothes that often as well. A man has at least one old and one new vest, trousers, and shirt, and on Sunday and for special events he will wear his newest articles of clothing; the same can be said of women's petticoats and accouterments. Winter and summer attire remains the same for both sexes except that some underclothing is shed during the summer, and at night on retiring outer clothing is removed and some

- 291 underclothing retained. The latter practice reflects extreme modesty as well as the need for warmth. Islanders have an obsessive fear of nakedness which permits them, after infancy, to bathe only their feet, hands, and face and precludes bathing in the sea and the use of bathtubs.

Crafts

43 Of the several crafts practiced in Inis Beag, only three are strictly income
434 instead of combined subsistence-income activities: the manufacture of *curach* by
[501] four men, the mass production of stockings by four girls in the factory at the
[295] coast guard station, and the fashioning of miniature canoes by a single man.
[294] Sweaters, woven belts, cowhide shoes, and the small multi-colored shawls are
[438] made both for local wear and for export. Most of the exported sweaters are sold
[657] to a particular mainland firm for resale, as are all of the model canoes, and the
[437] factory is sponsored by Gaeltacht Eireann which markets the stockings produced.
Other craft commodities are sold by the folk directly to consumers, most of whom are tourists.

501 The long rowing canoe of Inis Beag is distributed widely along the west
[171] coast of Ireland, from Cos. Donegal to Kerry, and its seaworthy qualities as well as
[174] the rowing skill of the crews which sail it are renowned. One of a number of
[178] varieties of the coracle, which has a heritage extending back to the Mesolithic, it
is built of deal and oak lathes and covered with tarred canvas (see Fig 10). Before
canvas was introduced, untanned seal, cow, and horse hides were used for covering,
and these were reported from a nearby island less than 100 years ago. The *curach*
is approximately 20 feet in length, has a high pointed nose, is round bellied and
lacks a keel, draws less than 6 inches of water, and is rowed with narrow 10-foot-
501 long oars. These oars are bladeless for use in rough seas and are pivoted on single
502 tholepins rather than in oarlocks. The looms of the oars overlap, so that oarsmen
must pull cross-handed, and on long journeys a lug sail is hoisted to relieve the
crew. For the neophyte, rowing a *curach* cross-handed in a heavy sea can be even
more abusive of the hands than rebuilding a gateway in a stone fence. Most
canoes hold three men—are "three-oared"—but two-, four-, and even five-men
curach were or are used. Loads up to a ton and a half can be accommodated, and
trussed asses, sheep, and horses sometimes are transported in them.

501 Forty-two householders in Inis Beag own three-men canoes, among whom
[502] three have additional two-oared *curach*. The craft are stored upside down in "cots"
on either side of the strand along the margins of the common land, although
Terrace villagers use a small beach along the northeast coast of the island; they
are carried between the cots and the water upside down on the shoulders of the
crew, and in that position resemble gigantic beetles. Two Inis Beag men are at
[433] work building canoes most of the time, and when they are not busy at this task they
[322] construct furniture for local sale. Two other men manufacture *curach* occasionally,
[184] and another two who once built them have discontinued the practice. No canoe
makers are found elsewhere in the region; therefore, Inis Beag artisans serve the

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been blessed, to protect the beast from milk pilfering fairies and hag witches. Among the taboos associated with May Day are those prohibiting the visiting of wells before dawn and giving away fire; as regards the latter taboo, to do so is to "give away the luck of the farm" for a year. Flowers are placed on the altars of the two medieval churches in the early morning of May Day, and at one time garlands of flowers shaped like a horseshoe were hung on door posts for luck. Souls of the dead are especially feared on Allhallows' Eve, and are placated in the Catholic tradition a day later on the feast of All Souls. The telling of stories is tabooed on Allhallows' Day, and the fairies are said to spoil wild blackberries for future eating with their before dawn depredations. My wife and I invited in a small group of islanders to celebrate Halloween in 1959, and we spent much of the evening having our fortunes told by an old man as it was done on this night when he was a youth; he poured melted lead through a key handle into a pan of cold water and made his prognostications by interpreting the configurations formed by the quick hardening metal.

Whitsuntide is the week beginning with the feast of Pentecost, or Whitsunday, but in Inis Beag it extends to the feast of Corpus Christi and is known as the "kinkish time," when once again evil forces hold sway in the island. Usually the weather is "heavy and close" and very changeable, I was told, and people tend to be irritable and more depressed than usual. Men do not cut their hair, nor does anyone wash themselves, during these 12 days. Although the pookah is always a danger, it is more active at this time than during the rest of the year, and children and visitors are warned not to fall asleep outside or even to sit down on the ground unless accompanied by others, whose presence will thwart any attempts by the demon to twist their limbs. Some islanders will not undertake major tasks or decide on important issues during Whitsuntide. Whereas Christmas and Easter are considered "lucky times," the "kinkish time" is unlucky, and those born then may have the evil eye or be destined to die violently or take a life.

In 1960, Corpus Christi was celebrated June 16th—two days after pattern day and eight days before St. John's Eve. The latter is one of several midsummer celebrations reported from Ireland which mark the summer solstice. Boys gather wood and tend a huge bonfire lighted just after sunset on the common land of Inis Beag, and a few islanders carry coals from it to their homes and fields for protection and to guarantee the fertility of their wives and female livestock. A man complained to me that an infection in his son's finger was caused by the failure of the boy to procure a coal from the fire as instructed. On that evening, the folk congregate outside of their cottages and along the terrace roads to watch the hundreds of bonfires alight on the mainland coast. In the past, cows were driven between twin bonfires as at Beltaine, and barren women and those yet to marry leaped over the dying flames. One of the most brilliant satirical novels of Irish life—both cruel and insightful—is Tracy's *The Straight and Narrow Path*, the plot of which focuses on the difficulties encountered by a vacationing British anthropologist after he writes for a newspaper an eye witness account of nuns jumping a St. John's Eve bonfire.

The legends are several and varied in Ireland about the life of St. Martin (O Suilleabhain 1957:252-261). There is no saint of this name who is of Irish

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Sex and Repression in an Irish Folk Community

Many kinds of behavior disassociated from sex in other societies, such as nudity and physiological evacuation, are considered sexual in Inis Beag. Nudity is abhorred by the islanders, and the consequences of this attitude are numerous and significant for health and survival. Only infants have their entire bodies sponged once a week, on Saturday night; children, adolescents, and adults, on the same night, wash only their faces, necks, lower arms, hands, lower legs, and feet. Several times my wife and I created intense embarrassment by entering a room in which a man had just finished his weekly ablutions and was barefooted; once when this occurred, the man hurriedly pulled on his stockings and said with obvious relief, "Sure, it's good to get your clothes on again." Clothing always is changed in private, sometimes within the secrecy of the bedcovers, and it is usual for the islanders to sleep in their underclothes.

Despite the fact that Inis Beag men spend much of their time at sea in their canoes, as far as we could determine none of them can swim. Four rationales are given for this deficiency: the men are confident that nothing will happen to them, because they are excellent seamen and weather forecasters; a man who cannot swim will be more careful; it is best to drown immediately when a canoe capsizes far out in the ocean rather than swim futilely for minutes or even hours, thus prolonging the agony; and, finally, "When death is on a man, he can't be saved." The truth of the matter is that they have never dared to bare their bodies in order to learn the skill. Some women claim to have "bathed" at the back of the island during the heat of summer, but this means wading in small pools with skirts held knee-high, in complete privacy. Even the nudity of household pets can arouse anxiety, particularly when they are sexually aroused during time of heat. In some homes, dogs are whipped for licking their genitals and soon learn to indulge in this practice outdoors. My wife, who can perform Irish step-dances and sing many of the popular folk songs, was once requested to sing a seldom-heard American Western ballad; she chose "The Lavendar Cowboy," who "had only two hairs on his chest." The audience response was perfunctory and, needless to say, she never again was "called out" to sing that particular song.

The drowning of seamen, who might have saved themselves had they been able to swim, is not the only result of the sexual symbolism of nudity; men who were unwilling to face the nurse when ill, because it might have meant baring their bodies to her, were beyond help when finally treated. While my wife and I were on the island, a nurse was assaulted by the mother of a young man for diagnosing his illness and